The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanĩ, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"...: each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the ankungitãna. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitãna, even Panterĩ and Urukumũ, showed genuine
●781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumũ wore the ankungitãna, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterĩ. Panterĩ likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
796 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterĩ [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
●781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also *to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.* At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumũ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

292 The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
285 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
114 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1). The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the societies or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *ančúnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *ančúnga iúnuera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[781] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *agnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo: but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pantori reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (*in* Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II. p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupí of Brazil shamans at times held 'great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupí-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupí-Guarani peoples.

APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

Case of Kamairaho

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pančé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *ančúnga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in his
756 dreams as do Pąąperi and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topí*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambá, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sôbre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

Case of Panéri

Panéri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [581. 589]

Case of Kanacipá

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

Case of Ipawungi

Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anhánga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anhánga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ete — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

Case of Campukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupí peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupí, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topũ*. *Topũ* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topũ* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topũ*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topũ's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topũ*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topũ*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topũ* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topũ*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Purunka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topũ* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topé* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topé* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*aechunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*ayguan, agaia, ingange* and *aechanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *aechanga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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302
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781
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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topũ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (*panté*) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,